HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I enter into no compromise with Slavery. I am for Justice, in the name of Humanity, and according to the Law of the Living God."

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Liberator.

Mr. Garrison's Speech.

In the New-England Convention, Friday, June 2, the resolutions on the subject of Texas having been read—

Mr. GARRISON said, that in rising to offer these resolutions, he felt unusually depressed in spirit, first, on account of the tremendous interests involved in them, and with which he felt himself utterly incompetent to grapple; and secondly, in view of the lateness of the hour, which precluded a full and complete examination of their merits. The convention had discussed at some length, and settled with perfect unanimity, various resolutions, embracing subjects of great moment, but which were not of immediate, *paramount* importance. If their time and attention had been wholly absorbed in the discussion of those now under consideration, it would have been a wise and profitable expenditure. It sometimes happens in a moral, as in a physical campaign, that upon the carrying of a single point, every thing depends—the victory or defeat of an army, the perpetuity or overthrow of an empire. He (Mr. G.) believed, that a crisis like this had arrived in the history of American liberty; that our national existence was staked upon the issue; that upon the decision of the question, *Shall Texas be admitted into the union?* would depend the preservation of northern liberty, the peaceful abolition of slavery, and the union of the states.

He would again confess, that, in view of the prospect before us, he was filled with alarming apprehensions of evil—with an anxiety of mind, almost amounting to despondency. Without a paradox, he felt so much as to lose the power of feeling—or, rather as to be deprived of the power to give free utterance to his thoughts. Phrenologically speaking, his organ of hope had been declared to be moderate—neither very prominent, nor very much depressed. He was certain, at least, that he was not apt to be unduly elevated by expectancy, nor utterly cast down by disappointment, or the prospect of evil. No one believed more confidently than himself, that 'Truth is mighty, and will prevail;' but *how* or *when* it will prevail, whether in mercy or in judgment, immediately or remotely, was not so obvious. It was infallibly certain, that the tyranny of this nation is to come to a perpetual end; and yet moral power may not be able to subdue it—perhaps it can be terminated only by an Egyptian or a St. Domingo process. It was an extra ounce that broke the camel's back; and this tottering, overburdened nation only needed to take upon its shoulders the territory of Texas, to be prostrated to the earth.

He would ask, is there no cause for alarm? Is any man flattering himself, that there is no danger—at least, no *immediate* danger of the annexation of Texas to our union? Do any abolitionists reason, that because it is for the interest of the non-slaveholding states to oppose such a measure, therefore their senators and representatives in congress will also resist it? Why, this is infatuation. Was it not for the interest of those states, that Missouri and Arkansas should not be brought into the union, with the curse of slavery fastened upon their soil? And yet they are slaveholding states. True, it is often conceded, that slavery and the slave trade ought to be kept within their present limits; and so it has always been held in the *abstract*, by the people of the north.—Yet no less than *seven* distinct slaveholding states have been formed out of our national territory, (possessed or acquired,) since the ratification of the United States constitution—to wit, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas. In no instance have the slaveholding states been defeated in their efforts to extend the boundaries of slavery: and they as confidently anticipate the speedy introduction of Florida and Texas into the union, as slaveholding portions of the republic, as if the event were already made certain.

What, then, is the probability, that Texas will be admitted as a part of our overgrown empire?

Answer. *The slaveholding states are resolved upon its incorporation*—AND THEIR WILL IS LAW.

For the last ten or fifteen years, they have been lying in wait to make that territory their prey. They first induced our government to negotiate with Mexico for its purchase and transfer; but Mexico too clearly apprehended the slaveholding designs of the south, and she indignantly rejected the bribe. Finding that they could not succeed by negotiation, they resolved upon invasion, revolution and conquest, as the instruments of success. Many adventurers began to colonize themselves in Texas, carrying their slaves with them, and evading the emancipation decree of Mexico by indenting them as apprentices for the short period of ninety-nine years! But no decisive movement was made to revolutionize the country, until within the last two or three years. Taking advantage of the furious excitement which prevailed throughout this country in favor of the 'domestic institutions' of the south, and in opposition to the 'fanatical abolitionists,' the Texian settlers began to throw off their allegiance to Mexico—put forth a declaration of independence in imitation of our revolutionary fathers—and commissioned certain agents to go through the United States sounding the war-cry of 'liberty, or death,' and calling upon all those who spurned a foreign yoke and sympathized with their oppressed fellow-countrymen, to rally to their aid. In order to stimulate American *patriotism*, they promised to those who should join in this revolutionary crusade, large bounties of land and sundry privileges. The appeal was promptly responded to by southern slave dealers and northern land speculators, and by the unprincipled, the desperate and the lawless, universally. Public meetings were held in various parts of the country, denouncing Mexican oppression, and lauding the 'patriots' of Texas, and proffering to them not merely sympathy but assistance. The political newspapers, generally, espoused the side of the Texian rebels.—Even in the United States Senate, they were eulogized as men 'struggling for rights and free institutions.' Enlistments of troops were openly made—money and amunition were liberally contributed—and some of the southern cities were said to present the appearance of being in a state of seige. Such announcements as the following, were as unblushingly made as if the information were calculated to redound to the American character:

'*Three thousand men for Texas.*—Gen. Dunlap, of Tennessee, is about to proceed to Mexico with the above number of men. The whole corps are now at Memphis. Every man is completely armed, *the corps having been originally raised for the Florida war.*—This force, we have no doubt, will be able to carry every thing before it.'—*Vicksburg, Mississippi Register.*

'A field battery of six guns—four six pounders and two twenty-four pound howitzers—with all the implements for service, and one thousand balls, shells and canisters, presented to the republic of Texas by Maj. Gen. T. J. Chambers, arrived in this city under the charge of Major McLeod, on the 27th inst. They are splendid pieces of artillery. They will be in Texas in three or four weeks, and the way their wide mouths will talk to the Mexicans will be a caution to all the foes of liberty.'—*Louisville, Kentucky Jour.*

Upwards of two hundred American soldiers deserted at one time, from the army engaged in conflict with the Florida Indians, and enlisted in the Texian service, *wearing the American uniform;* and Gen Gaines himself, with his troops, took possession of the military post of Nacogdoches, seventy miles beyond the boundary line established between the United States and Mexico.

How were all these movements regarded by our government? With approbation, if it be true that 'silence gives consent.' The treaty existing between the two countries reads thus:—'There shall be a firm, *inviolable* and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places.'—Behold how faithfully we have observed, or rather how treacherously we have violated, our neutrality as a nation! If Mexico had acted in a similar manner toward us—we should be engaged at this very moment, in a war for redress, with as much zeal and determination as were called forth in 1812 for the protection of 'Free trade and sailor's rights.' And to what shall we attribute the present forbearance of Mexico? To a want of national pride, or national perception of injury, or national desire of retaliation? No. Mexico is weak, and we are strong—Mexico is divided by factions, and we are united—Mexico is bankrupt in her finances, and we are independent in ours. She submits, for a time at least, because she cannot safely do otherwise. We were conscious of her inability to cope with us, and we basely took advantage of it. This makes our conduct doubly odious. Had we acted thus toward Great Britian or France, we might justly be accused of perfidy, but not of cowardice. We love to trample on the weak, and to rob the poor and defenceless. There can be no true bravery, where there is not true honor—nor true honor, where there is not moral rectitude. It must be a nation of dastards, who can enslave and degrade to the level of four-footed beasts, a sixth portion of their own countrymen—who can conspire to extirpate the half civilized remnants of the Indian tribes, in order to take possession of their lands—who can wantonly violate the faith of treaties, and seize upon a foreign territory, in order to extend slavery and the slave trade.

He (Mr. G.) had said, that our government had winked at the invasion of Texas by American troops. It was not until the 22d of December last, that the president of the United States ventured to speak upon the subject. On that day he transmitted a message to congress, in relation to the recognition of Texian Independence, in which he held that 'we should stand aloof, and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers, shall recognize the independence of the new government, at least until the lapse of time or the course of events shall have proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the government constituted by them.' His advice evidently came from a hollow heart—its design was to lull the suspicions and to quiet the apprehensions of the people of the northern states, and to put the sudden recognition of Texian independence seemingly out of the pale of probability. The *ruse* was successful. Northern jealousy was calmed, and even the anxiety of abolitionists gave way to security. Yet, in a few weeks after the transmission of the above message,—with no alteration of the aspect of affairs between Mexico and the rebellious province,—upon the ground of a single successful battle of the Texians with the troops of Santa Anna, and the fortuitous capture of that unfortunate chieftain,—and during the absence from the senate chamber of several northern senators,—the independence of the republic of Texas was formally recognized by the senate, precipitately and without discussion—and an appropriation was made by the house of representatives, as an outfit to a minister to that republic whenever it might seem proper for the president to appoint one! A minister was accordingly appointed by him instanter—and thus both congress and the executive joined in the shameless recognition. In the message of Gen. Jackson, already alluded to, he gave as a reason why it became our government to beware of a too early movement in respect to Texas, lest 'it might subject us, however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the claim of our neighbors to a territory, with a view to its subsequent acquisition to ourselves'—for, he adds, 'Texas asks us to acknowledge her title to the territory, *with an avowed design to treat immediately of its transfer to the United States.*' Whether the subsequent conduct of our government has justly subjected us to the imputation which Gen. Jackson affected to deprecate, no one can doubt.

Contrast our conduct toward Texas, with that which we have exhibited to Hayti! It is difficult to decide, whether, in these cases national profligacy or national injustice is most strongly displayed in our character.—As to Texas, what are the items of our profligacy? 1. The furnishing of troops and ammunition by us for the invasion and revolution of a province belonging to a foreign power, with whom we are in amity. 2. The forcible dismemberment of that province, and its transformation into a separate republic, through our instrumentality. 3. The consequent violation of the faith of treaties, without even so much as the shadow of an excuse. 4. The hypocrisy of our government in pretending to observe neutrality, after witnessing the consummation of these seditious proceedings, without uttering a note of remonstrance. 5. The sudden recognition of the independence of that rebellious province, solely upon the result of a single battle. 6. This invasion, revolution, dismemberment, and recognition, *for the purpose of re-establishing slavery and the slave-trade upon an emancipated soil!*

So much for our national profligacy.—Look next at the injustice of this country. The republic of Hayti has maintained its independence upwards of thirty years, which has been duly acknowledged by France, the mother country. But, though we have recognized the independence of the South American republics,—the independence of Greece,—the independence of Texas,—we have scorned even to entertain for a moment's consideration the proposition for acknowledging the independence of Hayti, though our commercial intercourse with her is constant and lucrative, and though her government is far more stable than that of either of the other countries alluded to. The cause of this glaring injustice is to be found in the *color* of the inhabitants of Hayti, which is not agreeable to our notions of genuine republicanism and equal rights.

TEXAS MUST BE ANNEXED TO OUR UNION!—The fiat has gone forth from the imperial south—and is it for the servile north to disobey? At a dinner recently given to Messrs. Calhoun and Preston in Charleston, S. C. 'Mr. Calhoun spoke of Texas; and at that name was interrupted with long and loud cheering; and his concluding words on that topic, *pronounced with deep emotion, that 'Texas must be annexed to the union!'* were answered with a universal burst of applause, that showed how glowing was the sympathy of the people of South Carolina with the heroes of San Jacinto. He pointed out clearly the vital importance to the south of the annexation, and concluded amid great cheering.'

The Mobile Advertiser holds the following language:

'The south wish to have Texas admitted into the union for two reasons: First, to equalize the south with the north; and secondly, as a convenient and safe place calculated from its peculiarly good soil and salubrious climate for *a slave population.* Interest and political safety both, alike prompt the action and enforce the argument. The south have an awful foe in all those who demand the emancipation of their slaves, and who call upon them to give up their property now and forever.'

A recreant northern print, the New-York Sunday News, one of the most violent opponents of the anti-slavery cause, boldly says:

'The determination so generally expressed in favor of the incorporation of Texas into the union, is based upon the fact, that the measure is necessary, *in order to strengthen the south against the machinations of the northern abolitionists.* If the union continues, *the south must be aided by the addition of four or five new states carved out of Texas, and one new state formed by the territory of Florida,* to enable them to HOLD IN CHECK THE RADICALISM OF NORTHERN REPRESENTATION in the house of representatives.'

Four or five new slaveholding states to be carved out of Texas, in order 'to *equalize* the south with the north!'—or, in other words, in order to give the south a strong majority in both houses of congress, so as to extinguish the flame of northern philanthropy, make Lynch law as administered to abolitionists, constitutional law, change the free policy of the country into a slave-driving policy, cause northern interests to succumb to southern despotism, abrogate the right of petition, and reduce the independent yeomanry of the north to a level with the slaves of the south!—The acquisition is to be made moreover, on the score of interest, as well as of power. It would raise the value of slaves from Maryland to Louisiana, *fifty per cent.* and be a clear gain to the south of nearly four hundred millions of dollars!—It is absolutely indispensible to the perpetuity of slavery,—aside from the efforts now put forth in the free states for its universal abolition,—that new territory should be obtained, as furnishing the essential aliment of its existence. Had it been confined to its original limits, when the constitution was adopted, it would have perished for lack of sustenance; for it speedily reduces the most fertile soil to barrenness, and would in time smite the whole earth with mildew, could it extend itself over the globe without hindrance. To keep it alive, therefore, and glut its horrid appetite with fresh victims, the immense territory of Louisiana was purchased of France—then Florida of Spain—and next, the admission of Missouri and Arkansas into the union, as slaveholding states became indispensable. Like the grave it still cries 'give! give!' and confesses that its existence is staked upon the acquisition of Texas. Let it succeed in this instance—let the precedent of conquest be once established—and it will be satisfied with nothing less than all Mexico.

The Texians themselves are not less keenly sensible, that their political, if not their earthly existence depends upon their being brought, and that too, speedily, under the wings of the American Eagle, for protection. Without such interposition on the part of our government, it will be impossible for them to maintain their independence; for their entire population does not exceed fifty thousand souls—and what are they in conflict with nine millions? Mexico has been tardy in her renewal of the war; but she is preparing to make 'one fell swoop,' that shall crush the rebels at a blow. Every moment, therefore, is big with peril; and the immediate annexation of Texas to the union is obviously to be among the first acts of the new congress, in September next, unless the people of the non-slaveholding states speak in thunder-tones of remonstrance, and unite their entire political strength in unyielding opposition.

What will be the consequences of such a step on the part of the United States?

1. The opening of an immense and highly fertile territory to those bloody abominations, slavery and the slave-trade; consequently,

2. The entire renovation of the American slave system, both in strength and productiveness.

3. The utter improbability that that system can ever be overthrown by moral power.

4. The further degradation and subservicney of the people of the north to the demands of the south.

5. The loss of the balance of power on the part of the north, and the supremacy of a southern policy in congress.

6. The certain loss of the liberty of speech and of the press, and the right of locomotion, to all those who are religiously opposed to slavery.

7. The absolute denial of the right of petition.

8. The perpetuity of slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia.

9. The admission of Florida into the union as a slaveholding state, and as much other territory as the south shall desire.

10. The renewal of the foreign slave trade. Already contracts are known to have been made in New-York and New-Orleans, and probably in other cities, to supply Texas with victims from the coast of Africa. The Liberia Herald of Jan. last says—'We have learned that great calculations are already making by slavers on the coast, on the increased demand and advanced price for slaves, which it is confidently anticipated will take place on the erection of Texas into an independent government. It has been rumored that offers have been made by a commercial house in New-Orleans to a slaver on the coast, for a certain number of slaves to be delivered in a specific period.'

11. A war with Mexico—and in the apprehension of John Quincy Adams, 'a war also with Great Britian, if not with France; a general Indian war; a servile war; and, as an inevitable consequence of them all, a civil war.'

12. A dissolution of the union.

All these fearful consequences are not only possible but probable, should the measure deprecated in the resolutions now presented to the convention be adopted by congress. Yet, the public pulse beats sluggishly—anxiety and alarm are manifested in the countenances of abolitionists alone, and even they as a body, seem not to apprehend how terrible is the swiftly approaching crisis—the people of the north seem to be spell-bound by indifference, or to feel that they have committed themselves too deeply in their insane zeal for the 'domestic institutions of the south,' and the 'rights of their southern brethren, to stand up even in self-preservation—little else is thought or talked of by them but a disordered currency, and blasted pecuniary expectations. As a necessary consequence, the press is silent and the pulpit dumb.

Yet the crisis rolls on!—In September next, the south expects to drive its bargain of blood successfully. The Washington Globe, the organ of Government, has significantly intimated, that the new congress has been summoned with special reference to our affairs with Mexico and not in relation to the currency.

Mr. Garrison concluded by saying, that, in view of the rise and progress of the Texian revolution—of the precipitate recognition of Texian independence—of the determination of the south to press the admission of Texas into the union without delay—and of the apathy which prevailed in the free states on this momentous subject—he was led to fear that all efforts to avert the pending calamity would prove abortive, and that our national destruction was sealed. Still, it became abolitionists to discharge their duty, and leave consequences with God—to see to it that their skirts have no taint of blood upon them—and to sound the tocsin of alarm throughout the length and breadth of the land, so that peradventure liberty and righteousness may be triumphant.

From the Congregationalist.

Aboiition.

We are told from high authority that the abolition enterprise is directly contrary to the "compromise," or "compact" entered into by the patriots of the revolution when the constitution was adopted, by which we are bound to allow the slave states peaceably and quietly to maintain slavery without interfering with their laws and usages, in any way adapted to abolish slavery. The most plausible and imposing statement of this objection that I have seen, is in the following extract from governor Everett's inaugural address delivered before the Mass. legislature in Jan. 1836. He said,

"In this state, and several of our sister states, slavery has long been held in public estimation, as an evil of the first magnitude. it was, however, deemed a point of the highest public policy, by the non-slaveholding states, notwithstanding the existence of slavery in their sister states, to enter with them into the present union, on the basis of the constitutional compact. That no union could have been formed on any other basis, is a fact of historical notoriety; and is asserted in terms, by general Hamilton, in the reported debates in the New-Yerk convention for adopting the constitution. This compact expressly recognizes the existence of slavery; and concedes to the states where it prevails, the most important rights and privileges connected with it. Every thing which tends to disturb the relations created by this compact, is at war with its spirit; and whatever, by direct and necessary operation is calculated to excite an insurrection among the slaves, has been held, by highly respectable legal authority, an offence against the peace of this commonwealth, which may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law. Although opinions may differ on this point, it would seem the safer course, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to imitate the example of our fathers—the Adamses, the Hancocks, and other eminent patriots of the revolution, who although fresh from the battles of liberty, and approaching the question as essentially an open one, deemed it nevertheless expedient to enter into a union with our brothers of the slave-holding states, on the principles of forbearance and toleration on this subject. As the genius of our institutions, and the character of our people are entirely repugnant to laws impairing the liberty of speech and of the press, even for the sake of repressing its abuses, the patriotism of all classes of citizens must be invoked, to abstain from a discussion, which, by exasperating the master, can have no other effect than to render more oppressive the condition of the slave; and which if not abandoned, there is great reason to fear, will prove the rock on which the union will split."

What kind of faith could Gov. Everett have had, while offering this invocation or prayer, to the citizens of Massachusetts imploring them to abstain from a discussion, designed to expose and correct an evil which they have long believed to be of the first magnitude? Which governor could he have supposed it was their duty to have obeyed, the one above or the one below, who implores them to violate their consciences, in abstaining from opposing an evil which they believed to be of the first magnitude? Can we conceive a greater outrage upon conscience, than this invocation to the citizens of Massachusetts to abstain from opposing an evil which they have long held to be of the first magnitude, while it should continue to work its natural consequences upon the body politic? It does not, however, fall within my design to consider all the prominent heresies and inconsistences of the above extract.

I freely admit that there was a compromise entered into when the constitution was adopted, and do not call in question the idea that it might have been difficult or impossible to have induced the slave states to unite in the general Union, when it was formed, had not this compromise been made. For, surely the framers of such a constitution as the *American*, would not have given any advantages to slave-holders, had these not seem a necessity for the measure, which constituted what they considered political expediency, or "public policy." But what, after all, are these "most important rights and privileges" conceded to the slave states in the "constitutional compact," which are so inconsistent with the spirit, principles and measures of the abolition enterprise?—Does this compact concede the right to slaveholders to gag the people of the free states, and so bind their pens, tongues and consciences as to prevent them from writing, preaching, lecturing, and petitioning against evils of the first magnitude, while they remain to work their natural and dreadful consequences upon church and state, soul and body? No verily, for if there is any thing guaranteed to the American people by general and state constitutions, it is the perfect and unshackled right to freedom of speech, of the press, and of petition, and no constitutions are more explicit on this subject than those of the slave states, and of the general Union. Even governor Everett himself admits that the "genius of our institutions, and the character of our people are entirely repugnant to laws impairing the liberty of speech and of the press, even for the sake of repressing its abuses." Does the constitutional compact, then, concede the right to the friends of slavery, to institute mobs and lynch law, in order to maintain slavery?—

This will not be pretended by any respectable authority. Does it concede the right to the friends of slavery to forbid abolitionists the free use of the general post office? Or to forbid them to be protected by the laws of the land in their travels, and enterprises under the wings of the American eagle? Certainly not. There is not one word in the constitutional compact to forbid the principle or measures of the abolition enterprise.

It only concedes certain advantages to slaveholders, which encourages the practice, but not the principles of slavery, and if any thing forbids the principles and measures of the abolition enterprize, it is not the principles *of the constitution*, but the *example of "the patriots of the revolution"* in conceding to the slave states the advantages of importing negroes until 1808, and of wielding a certain amount of political power based upon their slaves, for the sake of inducing them to unite in forming a general government. Gov. Everett appears to be very confident that this "example of the Adamses, the Hancocks, and other eminent patriots of the revolution" in entering into this compact, for the sake of *forming* the union at the time it was formed, binds the people of the free states to avoid discussing and opposing slavery some half a century afterwards, for the sake of *preserving* the union. Whether this argument is good or bad, will depend upon several things, which it may be well to consider. 1. Did our political fathers act wisely and properly, in conceding the advantages they did to slaveholders? If not, then of consequence their example cannot bind us to follow it. 2. Did they set no example which favors the principles and measures of abolitionists, that is a safer and better one to follow? 3. Are there the same or equal reasons for encouraging the practice of slavery now, as then prompted our political fathers to concede the advantages they did to slaveholders? 4. Are there no reasons to prompt us to resist and oppose slavery now, that did not exist then?

5. Is it a fact that the efforts of abolitionists are really inconsistent with the example of the framers of the constitution in conceding the advantages they did to slaveholders? To show that the patriots of the revolution erred in wisdom when they made the concessions they did to favor slavery, I need only to refer to the well established and conceded fact, that it is a moral and political evil of the first magnitude. Hence, the least encouragement of such a system by legislators, is a sin which is displeasing to God, for which they are condemned by every enlightened conscience, and which is adapted to entail desolating evils upon the country.

The patriots of the revolution set us some better examples than encouraging slaveholders. They succeeded in incorporating many principles in the constitution and declaration of independence, which are most completely adapted to subvert the system of slavery, and which some of them no doubt believed would speedily abolish it from the union. The example they set in fighting for their own liberties was adapted to subvert slavery. And some of them were active abolitionists in opposing slavery with tongue and pen.

These are the proper examples to follow, if we follow their example.

The *time* when our political fathers made the concessions to slaveholders they did, was when the country was weak and surrounded with powerful foes that stood ready to swallow us up. But now the country is grown wealthy and powerful, and no foreign powers threaten to swallow us up, and this is the time to correct our national errors and faults, as governor Everett says in the same inaugural address in these words:

"The people of America should be the last blindly to adhere to what is established, merely as such; and it may sometimes be our duty to imitate our forefathers in the great trait of their characters—*the courage of reform*—rather than to bow implicitly to their authority in matters in which the human mind has made progress since their day. * * * It would be monstrous to arrest the progress of reform, in acknowledged abuses, because a small portion of citizens had entered into contracts, in expectation that these abuses would never be reformed."

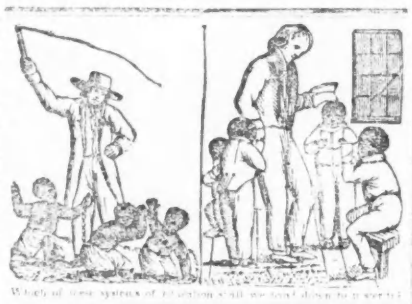
If these remarks apply with peculiar force to any subject, they apply to the subject of slavery, which is an "*acknowledged abuse*," an acknowledged moral and political evil of the first magnitude.

There are some reasons to lead us to engage in abolition measures now, that did not appear when our political fathers made the constitutional compact. The moral and political evils of slavery have been greatly developed since that time. The true remedy (immediate emancipation) is discovered, and shown to be safe. And the rising sentiment of the world against slavery, affords a new and powerful motive of action, in the hope of success.

If we should admit that the patriots of the revolution acted wisely and justly in making the concessions they did in the constitutional compact, it is doubtful whether this example is really inconsistent with one measure of genuine abolitionists. They have not proposed that slaveholders in the slave states should be deprived of the advantages given them by the constitution, so long as slavery continues. They utterly dissuade from bloody insurrections, and only propose to show slaveholders that slavery is really evil and inexpedient, and to persuade them to give it up, for their own and others good. The friends of slavery may well be challenged to show that there is any thing in the abolition measures, that is contrary to the declaration of independence, contrary to the preamble and articles of the American constitution, or to the essential rights of man. What relations formed by the constitutional compact, are the abolition measures adapted to destroy? Not one. The relations of master and slave, oppressor and oppressed, noble and serf, were formed before the constitution, and this charter contains vastly more to discourage and forbid than to encourage the formation of any more such relations. Our political fathers did much to break the chains of despotism, and to establish the principles of civil and religious liberty, as inalienable and essential rights of man, though they were led by peculiar circumstances into some inconsistencies.—Shall we accomplish nothing? Shall we only copy their imperfections, and follow their weaknesses and worship their errors? Shame on the degenerate sons of the Washingtons, the Adamses, the Hancocks, the Franklins, the Pinckneys and the Jeffersons who fought the battles of liberty for their country and for the world, if we do not carry forward the principles of the constitution, until this shall in fact be a land of freedom and universal liberty.

The constitution provides for amendments and improvements, and as American citizens, and subjects of the divine government, we are solemnly bound to correct the perversions of law, which tend to deprive our fellow creatures of their dearest and most sacred rights and privileges. And those persons who are crying peace and union, while supporting a system of injustice, violence, and abomination in the sight of heaven and earth, may well be reminded of the words of Him who said, in reference to those who desire peace in oppression and wickedness, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I am not come to send peace, but a sword."

C. S.



Which of these spirits of revolution shall we lend aid to in a serial

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: JULY 22, 1837.

All men are created equal; are endowed by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

The Island of Cuba.

For the translation of the following extract from the speech of one of the deputies, Don Sancho, in the Cortes of Spain, in April last, we are indebted to the *Washington Globe*. It is believed to be a just disclosure of the views of the Spanish government in relation to this Island, which is justly considered of much commercial importance both to Spain and to the United States.

"If, gentlemen, the island of Cuba should cease to be Spanish, it must belong to the negro. It cannot come under the power of any other nation, because, firstly, there is no nation powerful enough to subjugate 400,000 negroes, who, under the tropics, shall say, 'We will not be governed by you. Secondly, because, if another nation should attempt to take possession of it, some rival power would oppose the design. In strict truth, and without figure of speech, the island of Cuba is the key of the Gulf of Mexico, and no other than a great maratime power could take possession of it. And what power would consent to such possession?

Let us state the question as between England and the United States, since the former holds the sceptre of the seas, and the other is a maritime power in the neighborhood of the island.

Could the United States consent that England should own the island of Cuba? In addition to the fact that Cuba is the key of the Gulf of Mexico, we must keep in mind one other important circumstance. It is well known that the coast of America in that quarter has but very few ports. The island of Cuba, on the contrary, may be said to be one whole port. It has thirty-four good harbors, and of these, fifteen are capable of containing large squadrons. This is a sufficient reason to prevent its falling into the hands of a maritime power. Besides this advantage, there is this, that Cuba furnishes ship-timber for any quantity of vessels.

Would England allow the U. S. to take possession of Cuba? England, as the mistress of Gibraltar, has divided the forces of Spain and France; as mistress of the Ionian isles, she commands the Adriatic; and with the Cape of Good Hope, she holds the key of India. Would she then permit Cuba to be held by a third power?

Long and protracted wars with great effusion of blood must happen, before this could take place. The U. S. would not consent to this change of masters so soon as Great Britain. We all know that the rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico flow from the mountains of the United States. In their vallies is growing an immense population. All the productions of those countries have their *debouche* at New-Orleans, which is the principal port of commerce on the Gulf of Mexico. If the U. S. should consent to the occupation of Cuba by Great Britain, it would be as if a merchant should send the key of his money chest to another person, and say, 'you are the master of the chest.'

There is no alternative, gentlemen, the island of Cuba must remain under Spanish protection, or it must be abandoned to itself. If left to itself, it must become a *Negro* government. The effeminate and enervated whites would not be able to oppose the negro population in that burning climate.

It may be said that the whites possess wealth and knowledge. They possessed them also in St. Domingo. But of what avail are wealth and knowledge, when opposed to brutal force; when the question is one of exposure to the elements, of bearing fatigue, to which the slave is accustomed, and of suffering the heat of the sun, of which the negro declares himself to be the child? What would be the result? The whites would be subdued, as they were exterminated in St. Domingo."

It is by no means improbable, that in the course of human events the Island of Cuba may be wrested from the feeble government of Spain; and in such case it is more than probable that it will be owned by the Negro. Can this be prevented? Can the south prevent it? Surely not; and if the slave population continues to increase as heretofore, what will be her situation? Any thing but desirable. Will she call on the north for aid? It may be afforded; but it will move slowly to her rescue, even should governor Everett buckle on his knapsack and shoulder his musket in her defence. The elements are many and various which are destined to have a part in the final settlement of the question of slavery on this continent; and may not the condition of Cuba be an important one? Her proximity to the slave portion of the United States renders it peculiarly so—in all probability, pregnant with the most momentous consequences. Well may we tremble for her fate.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Address to the Women of New-Hampshire on the importance of forming Female Anti-Slavery Societies.

We live in an age rich in deeds of heaven-born charity—a country thickly marked with the footsteps of christian benevolence; and many of us may now be quieting our consciences with the reflection, that to every object of religious charity we have contributed our humble mite, and made up in just and equal proportions our tithes for the Lord. But is it so? Alas! while for *none*, it may be feared, have we done the half we could, though for nearly all we have done something, is there not remaining with regard to most of us, one complete delinquency? The groans of our oppressed countrymen, which for generations have pierced the skies and entered the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth, have fallen on *our* ear, as on a senseless membrane. We have heard not, heeded not their faltering cries. But they now come to us in such thundering accents, with such imploring solicitations for relief, that we must not longer dare to stop our ears, to their agonizing entreaties, or close our eyes to the unparalelled picture of human suffering which they present.

Do you ask what shall we do? Do as you have ever done when you have acknowledged the just claims of bleeding, suffering humanity—when your hearts "have felt for other's wo!" Walk in the light of your own example; rise in the simple majesty of your christian character; form societies for concentrated action; open a correspondence with, and quickly follow in the path of your sisters who have entered before you this field of moral action,—(as in the case of the cent society when, though late in action, your zeal and christian philanthropy caused a beloved clergyman in addressing some of you, in the language of scripture to exclaim, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.")—mingle in all your prayers supplications for the wretched slave—let the story of his wrongs rest on your lips—talk in every circle of his inalienable rights, sacrilegiously wrested from him by the iron hand of *American despotism*—and let your *purses* tell how sincerely you sympathize "with those in bonds." But do you say that by giving your attention to this, your interest in other benevolent objects will be diminished—that you now give to the extent of your ability, and if you contribute to this, you must withdraw from other societies, on whose operations depend the conversion of the world. Is it so? You *should* possess a love that will embrace all mankind, and ever keep alive your interest in the salvation of *all* for whom Jesus died—and it is believed you *do* possess resources from which, with barely enough of self-denial to make you feel its joys, you may generously contribute to every object for which true benevolence requires your aid. Think not, as some vainly imagine, that by engaging in the *anti-slavery* cause, you will in any way hinder or retard the progress of those beloved associations, which have so long been favored with the prayers and contributions of the christian church. These in the language of a christian minister "must not, cannot stop." And be assured that by taking hold of this work, with zeal and christian perseverance, you will, more effectually than in any other way, help forward the wheels of that vast moral machinery which has so long been in motion for the renovation of a lost, ruined world—but which will never roll round the year of millenial glory, while clogged with the bloody pollutions of slavery.

Do you love the American Home Missionary society? What is its object? To build the wastes of Zion—convert our American wilderness into a fruitful field—our whole country into a garden of God. And would you not remove all obstructions to such a glorious work? Look to the wide-spreading south—is there nothing there to prevent the completion of its blessed designs? Behold millions lying under the withering influence of an intellectual and spiritual famine, which nothing but the gospel of Christ—the institutions of his holy religion can remove. The gospel, in its primitive purity, cannot under existing laws be given them. Every region of our country where slavery exists, is more forbidding to the ambassador of Christ than the pagan shores of distant India. Remove *this deadly evil* from our land, and this noble enterprise, the A. H. M. Society may pursue to its complete triumphant accomplishment the work in which it has enlisted.

Do you love the American Bible Society?—What is its object? To supply with the volume of eternal truth every family—where? In christian America *surely*—the land which gave it birth—and in every benighted region of the heathen world. Well, to almost every pagan land a door of access is now open for the introduction of the word of God. But in *christian America!* one sixth part of the population are forbidden by the laws of the land, to hold the sacred treasure in their hand. Remove *slavery* from the land, and the bible society may accomplish its work—redeem its pledge.

Do you love the American Tract Society?—What is its object? To scatter rays of heavenly light wherever the darkness of sin rests its gloomy pinions—to dispense portions of the heavenly manna of the gospel, where the storehouse of eternal truth has not been opened—and to help supply the increasing demands for heavenly wisdom which are made in every community where the gospel has been enjoyed. Its leaves are sent forth for the healing of the nations, wherever that hand of christian charity can carry them. They have found their way to imperial China, where their contents are eagerly devoured by its reading population—but in *christian America!* there are untaught millions to whom these leaves are as the leaves of the forest. Remove *slavery* from our land, and the tract society will be furnished with a most inviting field of christian labor.

Do you love the Foreign Missionary Society? What is its object? To obey that last command of our risen, glorified Redeemer, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." In compliance with this divine injunction, christian missionaries are planting the standard of the cross in distant heathen lands, and they may labor on, in successive generations till the light of the gospel illumines the whole eastern world; but if *slavery* is not removed from their native land, must sit down and weep over millions of their own countrymen, who *cannot* receive the word of eternal life—for whom the Sabbath sheds its heavenly light in vain.

Thus, whatever path of christian enterprise we take, *the huge monster slavery!* stares us in the face, crying "thus far shalt thou go and no farther"—here shall the streams of thy charity be stopped. To remove *such* an evil, will the daughters of New-Hampshire refuse their aid? But why form societies, *separate* organizations, you may ask? Union is strength—and while connected with male societies our strength is weakness—we do not as societies *act* at all.—And in very many places in the state, shame to New-Hampshire! no male anti-slavery society exists. Will you longer wait the tardy movements of your brethren? It may soon be *too late* to act on this subject. Chains are already forged for *their* necks—yes, for the necks of the sons of New-England. O! if we could not help forward the work of immediate emancipation without, for a season, withdrawing our aid from every other benevolent object, should we not be justified in doing so? But we can. And while we hold on to every other good work, let us search our unexplored resources, and rally our yet unsummoned strength, to meet, to banish the *monster slavery*.

L.

Dunbarton, July 10, 1837.

For the Herald of Freedom.

To the Hon. Daniel Webster.

DEAR SIR—Permit an obscure individual to address you. And should an uneducated, plain, blunt man fail to do it with the respect due to your eminent talents and distinguished services; should my language not contain that polish which those who possess talents and education might give it; and even should it be unintelligible—do, sir, read this letter through before you throw it away.

I belong to that class in community, who, Mr. Leigh of Virginia said, "never meddle with politics," and who, according to Mr. Calhoun, are as much slaves, except in name, as the blacks of the rice swamps and cotton fields of the south. I mean, I am a laborer, who obtains his 'daily bread by his daily labor.' I am something of a politician too, the authority of Benjamin Watkins Leigh to the contrary notwithstanding; I belong to that party whose motto is, "rotation in office." Yet strange to tell, (though it would undoubtedly have been stranger otherwise) I have never risen higher than a rank-and-file man. You will understand me without my telling you, that I am a "democratic Jackson republican," and came very near being a Van Buren man to boot. But, sir, recent events have convinced me that "rotation in office" means, with the office-*holders* and office-*seekers* stepping out of one office into another, and so going round without ever coming to the ground. If you have ever seen a militia company go through the manoeuvre of "whipping the snake," for the diversion of the spectators, you can form some idea how modern rotation is carried on. Now, sir, our office-holders, for the amusement or at the expense of the party merely, might have rotated till doomsday without any rebuke from me, or my troubling you with this letter, were they not keeping up this splendid rotation by sacrificing our dearest rights, and by sapping the life blood of the constitution. To enumerate—Mr. Van Buren while in the senate gave his vote in favor of Calhoun's "incendiary bill," which is so flagrant a violation of both the letter and spirit of the constitution, that any person "though a fool cannot err therein." Although congress is expressly prohibited from abridging the exercising of the "right of petition," yet he and his party have united with the south in deciding upon the *qualifications* of petitioners, and in declaring what persons have and what persons have not a right self-evidently coexisting and co-extensive with human nature. They have virtually violated the constitution in a most wanton manner, in declaring that 'all petitions relating to slavery shall be neither read, considered, nor referred;' which is emphatically saying upon what subjects the whole American people may, and upon subjects they shall not petition congress. As well might congress have set guards within calling distance of each other round the whole 'ten miles square,' with express orders to stop every petition upon the subject of slavery, and consign it to the flames or the Potomac, as to order them to be laid upon the table without reading, consideration, or reference.

If congress can declare slaves of the south do not possess the right to petition, why not declare the laborers of the north, who, according to Mr. Calhoun, are literally slaves in every thing but the word, and according to Mr. Leigh, do not meddle with nor constitute any part of government; and who, according to southern slaveholders universally, are fit only for slaves, do not possess the right? These civil and political rights we might perhaps forego, if we were permitted to retire to our own fastnesses and rugged hill-sides, and there enjoy the poor pittance of personal liberty. But even this boon is denied us—Van Buren governors and legislators recommend to meet us at our very domicils and thrust a gag down our throats, put a seal upon our lips, or thrust us into prison, or expiate upon the gallows the crime of speaking against the 'domestic institutions of the south.' Neither are we allowed to suffer the proposed penalties of the law only. The partizans of Mr. Van Buren, with that leading partizan Samuel Beardsley, attorney-general of New-York, (and who *merits* the more distinguishing appellation of *Mob-master-general*) at their head, will enter the sanctuary of the Almighty, and there without the least shadow of law, with ruthless violence and the most savage ferocity, will break up a lawful meeting composed of men as regular in their lives, and of as much moral worth as any in the land. The principal actors in this great drama are men who are vociferous in their praises of liberty and inalienable rights. True liberty, however, in my opinion, can only exist where impartial justice is equally administered to all classes of people.

When the leaders of the party to which I had always belonged thus abandoned the constitution, and sacrificed the inalienable rights of the American citizen upon the altar of southern slavery, I began to look to see if I could depend upon the federalists, or as they are more recently called, whigs, whom I had always looked upon as more hostile to liberty and more aristocratical than their opponents. But you will perceive how frail my expectations were from that quarter, when the whigs of New-York, encouraged on by that prince of whigs, Webb, committed acts of lawless violence upon their neighbors, which would have made the Goths and Vandals blush to have performed. My prospects for assistance from the 'land of the pilgrims' equally failed, when the whigs of 'property and standing' of Boston, to the number of five thousand, could, with the mayor of your city, mob and break up a small meeting of respectable females, held in a private hall, and to cap the climax, march an inoffensive and harmless man through your streets with a halter about him, thrust him into your gloomy prison, and then banish him from your city, without any form of trial, or even pretence of crime, but for exercising the only trade the constitution of your state is pledged by name to protect.—And, finally, to crown the whole whig attachment to liberty, your gallant governor Everett recommends to take the most valuable, inbred rights of men from us, by indictments at common law. When my hopes for the defence of our invaluable liberties from both of the political parties were thus blasted, I began to look to you, in hopes that all the resources of your mind would be enlisted in defence of bleeding, gasping liberty, and in favor of down-trodden human nature. I had the stronger reason for my hopes, because on a memorable occasion you declared, 'when the banner of the constitution was unfurled, let whoever would hold the staff, you would rush to its support.' Shall you need to be told that this very constitution provides, that "citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states?" At this very time is it not known that a large portion of your *white* fellow citizens, respectable, to say the least, in talents and moral worth, instead of enjoying the immunities and privileges of citizens, are worse than outlawed throughout the slaveholding states of this union? Have not slaveholding senators in congress declared unblushingly, and *unrebuked*, that if any abolitionists entered their territory they should be lynched? The poor black man has "unfurled the banner of the constitution," and been unconstitutionally sold into slavery to pay the expense of an unconstitutional imprisonment. In vain then was the soil of Massachusetts drenched to a mire with the first and best blood of the revolution if her denizens, after having presented their heads to the Indian tomahawk, and bared their breasts to the British bayonet, in defence of inalienable liberty, can again be reduced to bondage. In vain did Massachusetts emancipate all classes of her citizens, if the whole south and the district over which congress possess exclusive legislation can again enslave them with impunity. Abolitionists have "unfurled the banner of the constitution" and been pierced through and smitten down while seeking protection beneath its broad folds. But, sir, neither the black citizens of even Massachusetts, whose soil perhaps has been drenched to a mire by their own blood, nor the abolitionists, who have had their dearest rights taken from them in the most wanton and unconstitutional manner, have had any "constitutional defender" rush to their support.

You may form some idea, sir, of my dismay and sorrow, when the constitution was thus in its death throe, and a thousand daggers were aimed at its heart, to have its professed champ-

on volunteer to give it the 'unkindest cut of all.' I allude to a speech of yours in which you declared slavery to be 'a great political, social and moral evil,' and that the constitution of your country had given it 'solemn guaranties,' and then inferred your obligation to give the foul monster your sacred support. Need you be told slavery of itself, being such an admitted evil as you say, all agreements recognizing and guarantying it must of necessity be sinful? Need you also be told that all statesmen and all writers upon law and government, who are not rendered *servile* through fear or made *venal* by interest, maintain that all criminal engagements are always null and void, and are never to be fulfilled?

Shall I tell you that in the very instrument which you say has given slavery its solemn guaranties, the first and last objects for which it was ordained, and to which all others were only incidental and subservient, were to establish *justice* and secure the blessings of *liberty?* Had that instrument therefore made any provisions sanctioning slavery, they being incompatible with and contrary to the design of framing the instrument, would be null and void by the rules of law, and would be so declared by all courts of justice. But, sir, I cannot for the life of me see any thing in the constitution that ought in all common sense, and according to the principles that all jurists allow to be decisive in every other case, to be interpreted in favor of slavery. Since congress, acting under authority conferred by the constitution, have declared the enslaving of native born Africans 'piracy,' it is evident, whatever pro-slavery might have once done, it cannot *now* go to that part which was intended to relate to the foreign slave trade for guaranties in favor of enslaving native Americans. Perhaps you pin upon that clause relating to fugitives from labor, as affording slavery its guaranties. Now sir, that may mean minors, apprentices, and hired laborers, who having received an equivalent for their services, abscond to defraud their employers; or at most it never should have been made to mean more than those reduced to bondage for crime after a due course of law.

Allowing, however, that it means negroes from Africa and their descendants, whether reduced to servitude for crime or not, in my view of the case not a single slave of the south can be lawfully and constitutionally restored to his master. I have come to this conclusion from reading the very article itself which provides, that the slaves must be held "*by law*." Now sir, with the exception above made, there cannot, I am bold to affirm, be a single slave held *by law*. The word 'law' means and was understood at the adoption of the constitution to mean the same as justice, and right; and southern slavery being wrong, and rank injustice, must go for support to something besides *law*. But, sir, for the sake of the argument, waving this impregnable position, and allowing there is no such thing as absolute and irrelative right and wrong, but they become so by organized communities allowing or prohibiting such and such course of conduct; allowing that the slaves of the south may be lawfully held, still I will maintain that the runaway cannot be constitutionally returned; because he must be held to service by the law of the state, at all events. I will ask then where is the law, or where can there be a law of any state, making one black man more than any other a slave? You will agree with me when a black man is claimed, as the constitution provides, he must be held *by law*, it is incumbent upon the master or his agent to produce the *law* which makes him a slave, and making his service lawfully due to his claimant.

You will acknowledge at once that bills or deeds of sale are wholly inadequate to establish the master's claim, so is also evidence of being in the claimant's employ; because many of the slaves of the south, as they are called have been smuggled into this country contrary to law, others again have been kidnapped after they have been made free, in your own state, and unconstitutionally reduced to slavery. Now, where is the man, that will say such escaping from unconstitutional bondage and piratical kidnapping can be constitutionally restored. One other view sir, and I am done. While your honor can speak in apparent strong terms against slavery, you are safe, while I am outlawed for apparently the same offence. Why this mighty difference? I will tell you. You by your own admissions have adopted the language of slaveholders themselves. Such sacrifices vice was always willing to pay to virtue. Such concessions tyranny was always willing to make in favor of liberty. Nay sir, there has been a time in our history when slaveholders themselves could talk with impunity as fanatically and as incendiarily as I do. But when it was found likely to be attended with the practical result of emancipation, the south changed ground, framed your mode of speech, and adopted your doctrine, under which slavery has gone on, lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes, till she has enlarged her borders, perhaps three, and multiplied the number of her victims five or six fold. And now she is on the eve of another change. Hence slaveholders begin to declare slavery not wrong in principle; that it is an institution of Jehovah; that it is in accordance with patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; that it is a moral, social, and political blessing; and finally, that it is the sheet anchor of our political safety.

Therefore we may reasonably conclude, as the south have outlawed me for using a mode of speech after it had become obsolete amongst them, they will next outlaw you for speaking aught against their 'peculiar domestic relations' even should you in the very next breath take all back, eat your own words and declare your sacred intentions of giving to slavery your firm support.

Yours, respectfully,
DAVID AMES.

Campton, July 1837.

For the Herald of Freedom.

In the communication of a correspondent who has presented to your readers the manner in which the 4th of July was celebrated at Dunbarton, allusion was made to the formation of a Female Anti-slavery society. This, to the *women* of Dunbarton, was an occasion to be remembered with grateful joy. They could not but view with heart-felt satisfaction and delight, the descending sun of that day of substantial pleasure. They felt they had done a deed which they should not be ashamed to see recorded in the history of the favored daughters of American freemen—women, than whom none can boast a more noble origin, or pious ancestry—but who, alas! have but just begun to feel the moral responsibility which these, and the circumstances with which, as heirs of a blood-purchased freedom, they are encircled, imposes upon them.

Never, we think, was a society formed with greater unanimity of feeling, or promptness of action. To a superficial observer, it was the work of a moment;—but in reality, was the result of anxious forethought, and we trust, of earnest prayer. May this voluntary association of faithful hearts never be disbanded but by that trump of Jubilee which shall proclaim liberty to America's bleeding captives—freedom to all earth's inhabitants who wear the galling yoke of bondage.

This society has adopted, as far as practicable, the excellent constitution of the Ladies' Anti-slavery society of Concord, to which it has formed itself auxiliary. This praise-worthy association, which outlived the storm that so rudely rocked it into existence, and has stood firm and unshaken, though almost unaided and alone amid the conflicting scenes of successive years, we hope, by mutual labors to encourage and assist. May the sweet, cementing cord of sacred union, with which we now feel ourselves encircled, be extended till it embraces, in little sister bands, all the women in the state—and the daughters of New-Hampshire present a firmly embodied female phalanx, impenetrable to the encroachments of the demon-spirit of slavery, as the granite rocks they tread are to the impress of their free, unshackled footsteps.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Mrs. Arathusa B. Putnam, *Pres.*
" Jane A. Harris, *Vice Pres.*
Miss Louisa Whipple, *Sec.*
Mrs. Mary J. Allison, *Treas.*

Forty names are attached to the constitution, and other ladies wait an opportunity to affix their signatures. Among the first fruits of the society were ten dollars from one of its members to constitute her a life member of the N.H. Anti-slavery society, which, with a subscription not yet made up, we hope will be but the beginning of our charities.

Dunbarton, July, 10, 1836.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Editor,—The Canterbury Anti-Slavery Society held its annual meeting at the West meeting-house in said town on the 4th inst at one o'clock P. M. without opposition.

The audience was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Curtis of Pittsfield in a very clear, candid and interesting manner, and in a style highly commendable to an abolitionist. In his address, he set forth in a very striking and impressive manner the evils and sin that attends the ungodly, soul-destroying traffic in human flesh. I say soul-destroying traffic, Mr. Editor, because I believe it to be so; for it robs the colored man of his rights in every sense of the word, and as far as human wickedness extends, it robs him of his very soul. And now sir, how long must this soul-destroying sin be countenanced among us? How long shall we behold men of talent and information arrayed on the side of the slaveholder? And the professing christians, how long shall we hear them advocating this inhuman traffic? And above all, how long shall we hear ministers, those that pretend to be ministers of Christ, favoring this hell-born sin? What shall we say to those things? What an idea must we form of a minister, one who pretends to be a preacher of righteousness, to see him stand in the sacred desk and hear him pray for the extension of Christ's kingdom, for the church, for the inhabitants of the town, and that the state and the United States government may be rightfully administered, and for the temperance cause, and for the heathen in foreign countries, but not a word said, nor a prayer breathed for the poor slaves in our own country. Such things are deeply humiliating.

When will the sons of men learn to think of these things as they ought? When will they learn that fighting against anti-slavery principles is fighting against God? Slavery as it exists in our country is a growing evil. Among the thirteen millions or more, who make up our census, two and a half millions are slaves. In a country proud of its freedom, and whose institutions breath the spirit of universal liberty, one sixth or more of the entire population are the subjects of an hereditary and hopeless bondage. If the political institutions of our country were based on the principle of arbitrary power and hereditary distinctions; if the privileges of freemen were less widely bestowed or less valued; the existence of personal slavery to this extent would hardly be out of place; it would be in harmony with the national institutions, and with the national spirit, and would be attended with little danger. But the sin would be the same as it now is. But as it is, the slavery which exists in these states is a deadly and cancerous sore upon the vitals of the commonwealth; it must be eradicated, or the nation dies. In such a country as this, two millions and a half of men cannot be held in slavery without doing open violence to the principles on which we rest our freedom; and by and by, these violated principles will be avenged. In such a country as this, two millions and a half of slaves—what are they? However securely they may be held in bondage, what are they but a sleeping volcano? Nay the volcano does not sleep—we hear its stifled murmurings from afar; and they who dwell upon the mountains feel it heaving beneath them. Something then must be done speedily; the danger is in our midst. Let us put forth all our energies to stay this torrent of sin. Let us all come up to the work, and with us let ministers and their churches come to the rescue, and the work is done. The chains shall fall from the hands of the oppressed, the prison doors of the captive shall be opened, and the trump of Jubilee proclaim liberty throughout a free and regenerated nation.

P. S. The thanks of the Canterbury Anti-slavery society are now tendered to the Rev. Mr. Curtis for his neat, ingenious and impressive address delivered before the society on the 4th inst.

After the address, the society went into the choice of officers for the current year. Capt. John Clough was chosen President, Capt. David Morrill jr. Vice President, Wm. H. Foster, Secretary, Col. Asa Foster Treasurer, Samuel French, Jeremiah F. Clough and Nathan Emery Jr. Executite Committee.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Fourth of July at Chester.

The Anti-Slavery Society celebrated the day by listening to an address, and other appropriate exercises. The services were held in the Baptist meeting house, and commenced with reading select portions of the scriptures, by Rev. Mr. Walker, pastor of that church. The introductory prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Fay, of the Methodist church, and the declaration of American independence was read by Mr. Benj. Sargent, jr.

The address was delivered by Mr. T. H. Miller, of Portsmouth—and consisted of a rapid glance at the reasons given by the fathers of American independence for the step they took in separating themselves from a government which oppressed them; in connection with which it was shown that the principles exhibited by them must do away slavery if they were suffered to operate at all. It was also shown that the blacks must be made free by moral suasion, or else the whites must lose their freedom, for the want of principle.

The evils of slavery in its effects at the north and south were then portrayed; the various expedients to get rid of slavery described, and finally, the objections urged against the emancipation of the slaves were answered.

The whole services were listened to with great attention and interest by the audience, which was respectable in numbers and character; and they were interspersed with very appropriate music by a large and efficient choir.—It is hoped that the cause of freedom and happiness in this land will receive a new impetus from the proceedings of the day, and that the blessings of millions now ready to perish will come upon all who were heartily engaged in them.

BENJ. SARGENT.

Chester, July 5, 1837.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Fourth of July at Chichester.

Mr. Editor,—We endeavored in this place to celebrate our nation's birth-day in an appropriate and religious manner. Many of our people were drawn away to a neighboring town by a sort of a military-politico, brandy-and-wine, punch-and-powder celebration, which took place there, not much to the credit of religion or temperance. We had, however, a very respectable audience, and a most pleasant and interesting season. In the forenoon, Rev. Mr. Fifield, of Epsom, gave us a very excellent lecture on slavery; and in the afternoon Mr. Pillsbury, from the Gilmanton Theological Seminary, lectured in a pointed manner on the subject of temperance, taking high tee-total ground. He said it had been tried long enough to make the *temperance machine* go by *steam* power both by high and low pressure; but it did not work well. Nothing would make it go sure and safe and well but COLD WATER.

We had several names added to our anti-slavery list. During the meeting of the society the following resolutions were moved by Mr. James Towle, seconded by different members of the society, and carried without a dissenting voice. The fourth resolution is deemed a very important one; and presents the true ground, we think, which all abolitionists ought to take in regard to politics and public men. Christians should never be committed to any political party; but vote in the fear of God, and with a view to the best good of the community and of the human family. The resolutions, you will perceive, are not drawn up in a fanciful, high-sounding style; but are the effusions of an honest heart, expressing its convictions in a straightforward and understood language.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That, as the subject of slavery has come up for discussion, we consider it the duty of every person, especially those who are of the household of faith, to lay aside prejudice, and seek to inform themselves on this important subject without delay.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this society, no one can take neutral ground on the subject and not be amenable to the bar of the final Judge; for Christ said, 'he that is not for me is against me. And we lament that so many of our brethren, who profess to love our Lord Jesus Christ, should indulge prejudice to such a degree as to be unwilling to read and hear, and come to a right understanding of the subject; and we believe that such cannot possess the true spirit of prayer while they are too prejudiced to examine this or any question of duty. And we appeal to all who have not examined this subject—*because they were indisposed to examine it*—to say whether they have the spirit of prayer.

3. *Resolved*, That we believe it to be the duty of every minister of the gospel of Christ, who is set upon the walls of Zion, to lift up his voice against this crying sin and keep not back, but sound the alarm, till every soul for whom Christ died shall be liberated—that they may enjoy the blessings of the gospel of peace, and be made free indeed.

4. *Resolved*, That this society feel solemnly bound by the principles of our civil and religious institutions, to refuse knowingly to support any man for office in our national and state councils who will not sustain the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition, and the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia.

5. *Resolved*, That as the annexation of the Texian country to this union will greatly favor the continuance of the opppressive system of slavery; therefore, we will use our best endeavors by petitioning to congress to prevent any procedure of that kind by that honorable body.

N. B. The officers of the Society, for the ensuing year are—Rufus A. Putnam, *President*; James Towle, *Secretary*; John Pease, *Treasurer*.

For the Herald of Freedom.

To the members of the Concord Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society.--No. 4.

Providence, R. I. July 7, 1837.

Dear Friends,—If reasons can be presented why juvenile societies should be formed, the importance of suitable action will be discovered at once. It is certain that what is done should be done now; the suffering condition of the slave demands it; and in the language of Edward C. Delavan, among all human instrumentalities the anti-slavery cause seems to be the only means that can benefit the slave, and free the country from its contagious effects. Well, what must be done? Why, the public mind must be enlightened, and the public sentiment turned against the system. And if societies are formed, and the members are kindling up a flame in a well concerted way the light must and will spread.

I have been in New-York and Boston, when the streets have been lit up with gas. The fount or reservoir is managed by a number of men who know their duty. After preparing the gas, it is sent out in tubes to light up the city. So with your societies, they must be the reservoirs to accumulate the light, and they must send it out to enlighten the public. And in every town and village the youth ought to set up an anti-slavery society as a moral light house to keep the people off the shoals of slavery; in the societies keep up a grand light. Let no pains be spared; every member ought to be at his post, ready to assist in the work. The regular time of meeting should be attentively observed by every member.

The slaveholders already feel the effect of your light, and they tremble as they see the iniquity of their system. I ask, what led James A. Thome and James G. Birney to take the side of humanity? It was the light diffused by the abolitionists. They gave up the goods and chattels they held in the souls and bodies of men, and gave in their declaration against slavery. Why do men at the south cry out like the man possessed with devils? Why the light of the world shines through the anti-slavery cause. (Jesus Christ is that light.) Give them more light, especially now, as Texas is about to apply for admission for the purpose of strengthening the cords of slavery. I say, noble youth of New-Hampshire, stand to your integrity; remember the 4th of July 1776. That declaration has not been kept "that all men are born free and equal." Remember that "God hath created of one blood all the nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth;" whether red, or white, or black; whether with straight hair or curly; whether in Africa, or Asia, or America, or Europe. You have enough to stimulate you to action. O, then, dear young friends, send the cry through your state until the White mountains shall echo the cry, *Awake!*

And may your society do much in this cause to enlist others to join in the ranks of the abolitionists. Meet often. Pledge your lives, your honors, your all to the cause. Let your opponents who say that old women and children are engaged in the anti-slavery cause know that although you are young yet you view with horror the abominations of the system, and are determined to remove George McDuffie's "corner stone of this republican edifice."

May the God of Israel bless your efforts and make you the successful pioneers of freedom.

With feelings of deep respect,
Yours truly,
JOHN W. LEWIS.

West Indies.

Extract from a letter to a friend, dated St. Johns, Antigua, Jan. 12th, 1837.

"I have been in the different islands, and seen the working of the two systems, and am fully convinced that the *immediate emancipation* system is the best. They work with a better heart and are better contented, than those under the apprenticeship system—I find the colored men here, are jurors and judges on the bench; many of them large merchants, and most of the clerks are colored. When will this be the case in America? O it awakens in me a double spirit of enthusiasm for my country and countrymen, that they would study their interest more by combined effort, and awake and rise from their lethargy, and make a proper use of those means which the God of nature has placed in their power. It is my prayer to God that America may soon become free and the colored people found in the scale of rivalry. Religion is flourishing here; the Methodists are building two chapels, the Presbyterians, one church; the Moravians are going to enlarge theirs, and the Episcopal church is to be enlarged also—these are in the town of St. John's. But there are numerous others in the country. The temperance society is gaining ground very fast; some planters have given up the practice of making rum, and many more talk of doing the same soon.

Your's respectfully,
H. N. MERRIMAN.

The African Slave Trade and Texas.

By a treaty between Great Britain and Spain for the suppression of the slave trade, concluded in 1817, the British government was authorised to appoint commissioners, to reside in Cuba, who, with the Spanish commissioners, were to form a court for the adjudication of such ships as might be seized with slaves actually on board.

The British commissioners from time to time make reports to their government, which are laid before parliament, and published by their direction.

The following are extracts from a report, dated 1st January, 1836.

"Never since the establishment of this mixed commission, has the slave trade of the Havana reached such a disgraceful pitch as during the year 1835. By the list we have the honor to enclose, it will be seen that 50 slave vessels have safely arrived in this port during the year just expired. In 1833, there were 27 arrivals, and in 1834, '33; but 1835 presents a number, by means of which there must have been landed upwards of 15000 negroes.

"In the spring of last year, an American agent from Texas purchased in the Havana 250 newly imported Africans, at $270 a head, head, and carried them away with him to that district of Mexico—having first procured from the American consul here, certificates of their freedom. This, perhaps, would have been scarcely worth mentioning to your lordship, had we not learned, that within the last six weeks, considerable sums of money have been deposited by the American citizens in certain mercantile houses here, for the purpose of making additional purchases of bozal negroes for Texas. According to the laws of Mexico, we believe such Africans are free, whether they have certificates of freedom or not; but we doubt much whether this freedom will be more than nominal under their American masters, or whether the whole system may not be founded on some plan of smuggling them across the frontier of the slave states of the Union. However this may be, a great impulse is thus given to this illicit traffic of the Havana; and it is not easy for us to point out to government what remonstrances ought to be made on the subject, since the American settlers in Texas are almost as independent of American authority as they are of Mexico. These lawless people will doubtless, moreover, assert, that they buy negroes in the Havana with a view to their ultimate emancipation. We thought the first experiment to be of little consequence; but now that we perceive fresh commissions arriving in the Havana for the purchase of Africans, we cannot refrain from calling your lordship's attention to the fact, as being another cause of the increase of the slave trade in the Havana."

The foregoing throws light on the following recent article in the Albany Argus:

"The fate of Henry Bartow, late of the Commercial Bank of this city, has been at length definitely ascertained. The agent sent out by the bank has returned, and states that Bartow died at Marianne, near Columbus, in Texas, on the 30th of June last, of the fever of the country, after an illness of about four weeks. He had purchased a farm on the Brassos, and, in company with a native of the country, had commenced an extensive plantation, and *sent* $10,000 *to Cuba for the purchase of slaves*."

And, we may add, the whole statement throws a light—a baleful light—upon which is so falsely, so profanely called, a *struggle for freedom!* in Texas.—*Ed. N. Y. Amer.*

Troubles among the Pottowatamies.—The Boonville (Mo.) Herald, of June 24, says there is little doubt that the treaty with these Indians, now located on the Platte river, will have to be enforced *vi et armis*. The tribe are quarrelling and cutting each other's throats in drunken frolics from whiskey, smuggled among them by speculating whites. The life of Mr. Davis, Indian agent, has been assailed. The Indians swear, like the Seminoles of Florida, they will die on the graves of their fathers.

The above is one of the many notorious instances of the practices of the whites. How many millions has it cost the United States to suppress Indian disturbances caused by the introduction of whiskey among them.

Employment for Laborers.—The National Intelligencer contains an article, in which the writer asserts, that at this time from 1000 to 1500 common laborers can find constant employment upon the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, at good wages. The wages to those now employed on that work are from $1 to $1 1-2 per day. Laborers who are out of work, would do well to go immediately to Baltimore, where they can get the requisite information.

New Wheat.—Virginia wheat of the new crop has been exhibited in Baltimore. Its quality is said to be remarkably fine.

NOTICE.

The *Monthly Meeting* of the Ladies' Anti Slavery Society, of Concord, will be held at Mrs. Philip Watson's, on Wednesday next at half past two o'clock in the afternoon.—All ladies interested in the object are respectfully invited to attend.

July 22.

POETRY.

From the Ohio Observer.

Dear sir,—I think the following lines on the subject of slavery are too precious to be lost. They may, perhaps, be familiar to you, (but I presume not to most of your readers,) as they were written some years ago, by Rev. Carlos Wilcox and published in the volume of his memoirs. Should you think proper to publish any part of them in your paper you will oblige a SUBSCRIBER.

Ye sons of Liberty, who rally round
Her standard at her yearly festival,
Flourish the sword, and bid the cannon roar
Defiance to all tyrants, shout huzzas
Over flowing bowls, and with exulting voice
Sing, "give us liberty or give us death;"
Your joy is merciless, while its glad sounds
From more than half the land return in groans;
Throw down your banners lifted to the sky;
They will not float on this imprisoned air.
Away with feast and song; come fast and weep—
Away with all defiance and disdain
Of *foreign* tyrants; humbly mourn our own.
For who are tyrants? They that make men slaves.
No more exult o'er kingdoms of the east
Where not a slave is found, till here are none.
Rail at usurping peers, when ye have shown
That fifty tenants to support a lord,
Is more at war with reason and with heaven
Than fifty slaves a planter to support.
In personal rights and privileges dear
The monarch rises not so far above
The meanest free-born subject of his realm,
As does the master o'er the helpless slave.
With needful food supplied, the slave, say some,
Desires no more, and void of care is blest.
If by kind treatment it be sometimes thus,
What does it prove, but that the man debased
By his condition, knows no higher good
Than what the brute enjoys? And is it just
To shut him from all rational delight
Until he feel no wants but those of sense,
Then call him happy to excuse the crime?
Or is it then no blessing to be free?
And were they fools who struggled to obtain
Our independence—to throw off a yoke
Far less oppressive than the one we bind
On Afric's sable sons? Are they not taxed?
Yes! to the very blood that warms their veins;
No rights have they, not one for self-defence.
The master may inflict what'er he will
On this side death! May lash, and maul, and kick,
All which these eyes have seen; nay chain and yoke,
And if the sufferer lift a finger lift
Against the madman to preserve his life,
The law condemns him, friendless and unheard.
Hail land of liberty! Come all ye kings
And tyrants of the world, come near and view
This land of liberty, where men are free
To task, and scourge, and chain their fellow-men
At their own pleasure, and without the fear
Of any human bar. * * * *

'Tis mockery to soothe whom we oppress.
'Tis insult to attempt to put them off
By mitigating means, to make amends
For loss of liberty—to make them feel,
And make mankind believe, that they are blest.
All short of full deliverance is in vain.
'Twill not suffice to soften wrongs like theirs:
To soften hardships so severe at best.
No! chains are chains tho'half concealed with flowers,
No! slavery is a tiger, even when it seems
Most like a lamb. Its kindest smiles are frowns,
Its tender mercies cruel as the grave.
I will not say religion can do nought
To ease the heavy load of men enslaved.
What then? Because religion is a balm
For every wound, may wounds be multiplied?
Because the martyr triumphed in the flames,
Was it the less a crime to light the fire?
Because religion made its converts yield
Subjection to each ordinance of man,
Even when Nero swam in christian blood,
Was persecution of its horrors stripped?
And so, because the slave when taught from heaven
May bear the worst in peace, without complaint,
Trusting in Him whose vengeance will repay.

Is slavery no oppression?
Does this afford the shadow of a plea
In our behalf? Or makes it aught the less
Our duty to emancipate the whole?
But when and how can this be safely done?
Done it should be; with safety if it can,
With danger if it must. It ill becomes
Our name to shrink from suffering in our turn,
We who have reaped the profits of their *fall*,
Selfish in all, shall we expect to make
Their *rise* our gain? Say not they are entailed
Our sad inheritance, and we must bear
What we lament, but have no power to change.
Lament and bear! Is this the generous plaint,
Of charity perplexed and sorely grieved?
No! 'tis the plea of avarice, who pays
Her court to charity to still her fears,
While *safe possession* is the end in view.
Will not Jehovah visit for these things?
Will he not be avenged on such a land?
Go ye, whose feelings custom has not steeled,
See men to market driven like fattened herds,
Immortal beings for whom Jesus died,
To market driven, and by their fellow-men,
Whose blackness lies far deeper than their skin.
Go listen to the lashes and their shrieks
That mingling, rend the air, while clinging friends,
Husband and wife, the parent and the child,
By various purchasers are torn apart,
And doomed to different regions of the land,
Never to see each other's faces more;
Never to hear by letter or report
Of other's welfare, dearer than their own;
Never to know their death till after years
'Tis learnt by meeting them beyond the grave.
Oh, proud Columbia, hide thy towering head
Low in the dust, in shame and penitence,
Till from thy robes be washed the stain of blood;
Then like a goddess rising from the sea,
Then rising in thy glory, prove thyself
"The queen of earth, the daughter of the skies."

The accepted Sacrifice.

"Give me thine heart."

What shall we offer thee, thou God of love?
Thou who didst build the heavens and mould the earth
Thou who didst hang the sparkling stars above,
And call'dst from darkness light and beauty forth!
From all the treasures of the earth and sea,
What shall we offer thee?

Shall we present thee gold and glittering gems,
Such as might wreathe the brow of royalty;
Shall we pluck roses from their slender stems,
Such as in summer's graceful bowers may be;
And shall we lay them at thy holy feet,
As offering fair and meet?

Or shall we deck thy temple with the spoil
Of mighty cities, and rich palaces;
Strew flowers, fling on the altar wine and oil,
And pour around thee mingling melodies
Of lutes and voices in soft harmony,
Breathing up praises to thee?

Or shall we bring thee treasures of the field,
When the rich autumn fills her flowing horn;
The russet fruits the loaded branches yield—
The clustering grapes, the golden waving corn;
The flowers of summer; the sweet buds of spring;
... Oh! which, which shall we bring?

There is a voice which saith: Oh, dearer far
Than all the earthly treasures we can give,
The pure aspirings of the spirit are,
When in the light of Truth it loves to live.
Such be our offering at thy holy shrine;
Our hearts, our *hearts* be Thine!

Liverpool, England. M. A. B.

MISCELLANY.

Temperance.

The cause of temperance and the abolition of slavery, being so nearly allied—both seeking the best good of all mankind—that we have selected for the benefit of our readers—although our paper is intended more especially to advocate the latter—a part of a speech in reference to the former, delivered in the British house of lords more than ninety years ago. On the 21st of February, 1743, lord Chesterfield delivered the following sound and orthodox views respecting the licensing of men to manufacture or to sell intoxicating drinks. He makes a very just distinction between *vice* and *luxury;* declaring that while the latter may properly enough be *taxed*, the former should be *prohibited*. We commend the remarks of his lordship to the serious consideration of legislators, and all who are concerned in the traffic of alcoholic liquors.

"Vice not to be taxed, but punished."

"Vice, my lords, is not *properly* to be *taxed*, but *suppressed;* and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which that suppression can be attained. Luxury, my lords, or the excess of that which is only pernicious by its excess, may very properly be taxed, that such excess though not strictly *unlawful*, may be made more *difficult*. But the use of those things which are *simply hurtful* in their own nature, and in *every* degree, is to be *prohibited*. None, my lords, ever heard in any nation of a tax upon theft or adultery, because a tax implies a license granted for the use of that which is taxed, to all who shall be willing to pay it."

"Evils of drunkenness universal."

"*Drunkenness*, my lords, is universally, and in all circumstances an evil, and therefore ought not to be taxed but punished. *Luxury*, my lords, is to be *taxed*, but vice *prohibited*, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of the *ten* commandments? would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous, because it would *imply* an *indulgence* to all those who can pay the tax?"

"The numbers engaged in distilling, no reason for its toleration, if productive only of evil."

"The noble lord has been pleased kindly to inform us, that the trade of distilling is very extensive; that it employs great numbers, and that they have arrived at exquisite skill, and therefore—note well the consequence—the trade of distilling is not to be discouraged. Once more, my lords, allow me to wonder at the different conceptions of different understandings. It appears to me, that since the spirits which the distillers produce, are allowed to enfeeble the limbs, and vitiate the blood, to pervert the heart, and obscure the intellects, that the *number of distillers* should be no *argument* in favor; for I never heard that a law against theft was repealed or delayed because thieves were numerous. It appears to me, my lords, that if so formidable a body are confederated against the virtue or the lives of their fellow-citizens, it is time to put an end to the havoc, and to interpose, while it is yet in our power to stop the destruction. So little, my lords, am I affected with the merit of the wonderful skill which the distillers are said to have attained, that it is, in my opinion, no faculty of great use to mankind, to prepare palatable poison; nor shall I ever contribute my interest for the reprieve of a murderer, because he has by long practice obtained great dexterity in his trade. If their liquors are so delicious, that the people are tempted to their own destruction, let us at length, my lords, secure them from their fatal draught, by bursting the vials that contain them—let us crush at once these *artists* in slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pit-falls of debauchery, such baits as cannot be resisted. I am very far, my lords, from thinking, that there are this year any peculiar reasons for tolerating murder—nor can I conceive why the manufacture should be held sacred now, if it be to be destroyed hereafter."

From Youth's Cabinet.

Scenes in a Slaver.

We have now lying before us, a book called the 'Negro,' translated from the French, and republished in Philadelphia in 1801. It describes the varied fortunes of Itanoko, a native of Africa. He felt the full force of the poet's words:

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

He was born in the interior of Africa, and spent his early years in a succession of pleasures. He loved Amelia, and looked forward to long years of happiness in her society.

But his tribe engaged in a war with a neighboring chief, and he was taken captive. A Frenchman named Dumont, who had been shipwrecked at the mouth of the Gambia, had shared the hospitality of Itanoko's father. Dumont had given a flattering account of the virtues of the Europeans, but had said nothing of the slave-trade.

Itanoko thus describes the close of a conversation between his father and Dumont:

'My father said to him, I cannot doubt the happiness which is the lot of your country. How many thousand negroes have been taken from our coasts by European vessels! The right of war permits us to dispose of those prisoners we take in battle, and we deliver them up as trifles. Alas! the Europeans are more virtuous than we are. Influenced by humanity, they come to snatch them from our chains. The negroes must be happy with them; for none has ever returned to their families. Dumont was silent; his color became a deep red; but it did not draw our attention.'

When Itanoko was carried by his captors near the sea shore, he resolved to get on board a European vessel, not doubting that the countrymen of Dumont would deliver him from slavery.

As soon as possible after the battle, Itanoko's father made arrangements for his release. The day was appointed when he was to be set free, and returned to his anxious friends.

But Itanoko was ignorant of the fact, and the very night before the day appointed, he escaped, and swam to the *slave ship!!!*

With confiding simplicity he told his story to the captain. The deceitful monster assured him of his protection. Food was provided for him and he was invited to rest. The captain's name was Urban, and he had a son named Ferdinand. When the young man had seen that Itanoko was provided for, he left him alone. Here let the abused victim speak for himself:

'I thought myself on the eve of happiness; and full of this sweet idea, abandoned myself to sleep.

Alas! while they were heaping outrages upon me, the sweet error of a dream had conducted me to Amelia. I thought I held the hand of Urban. I presented him to my father, to Dumont, to all my friends, by the name of my deliverer. I saw them press him to their bosoms, inundated with tears. I found myself restored to love, to nature, to my country: restored by him, and I called for blessings on his head.

I awaked. Oh heavens! a frightful obscurity enclosed me. I attempted to rise. My arms and feet were benumbed with heavy chains. I cried with a faint voice, where am I? Some words which I received through the confused murmuring of sighs, groans and sobs, confounded with piercing shrieks, and the harsh sound of irons, taught me that I was in the midst of negroes. Soon I heard the terrible name of slavery spread throughout the black cavity of the vessel.

'Slavery! Fury! who has made me a slave!'

'The money of thy butchers,' answered a voice.

'Their money! never have I cost them any.'

'So much the better for thee.'

'Oh, my father,' cried I; 'Oh, my Amelia!'

'Thou shalt never see them more,' replied the voice. 'Immense seas will separate thee from them. Fetters, wounds, incessant labor, death! These are what await thee!'

I ceased to hear. I felt my limbs stiffen; my blood became torpid, and my senses forsook me.'

He recovered to survey the scene which he thus describes:

'I could now consider what passed around me, and I fully saw the dreadful objects which the obscurity of the hold had partly hidden from my sight. Some hundreds of negroes were spread upon the deck, all of whom had their feet in irons. Their hands were disengaged, because it was the hour in which their miserable nourishment was distributed to them. There did I see grief express itself in all its varied forms. Some deluged the planks with their tears. Others fiercely demanded vengeance from heaven; and others, with motionless eyes, looked towards their native land which they could no longer perceive. On one side a husband sustained a fainting wife, whose weeping infant in vain suckled the breasts which were dried up with sufferings. On another, a son, driven to raging madness, tore out his teeth with gnawing the chains which crushed his father's limbs. Around us were planted armed murderers, with smiles on their lips, and audacity on their fronts. Yet the vessel lightly bounded on the tranquil surface of the sea, and the heavens were without a cloud!

In the after part of the vessel, on an old sail, a child was born. Scarcely did the mother perceive her infant, when she seized it,—gazed on it with a fierce eye,—looked around her,—saw herself little observed,—crawled to the edge of the ship,—gave her son the first and last kiss, and precipitated herself with him into the waves.

Urban swore, stormed, threatened the guards. They slackened sail. Some sailors threw themselves into the sea. Useless efforts. The irons of the poor woman had plunged her beyond their reach. They took up the infant, but it was dead.'

After a voyage of several weeks, this vessel, with its freight of misery, arrived at a slave island. Thus was Itanoko introduced to that full measure of wo which slavery provides for its victims. But there have been many millions who have suffered as he did. And millions now are still groaning beneath similar sufferings.

Remember that the domestic slave-trade is still carried on in this country. Remember, too, that this trade is continued between the states and even in the district of Columbia by the congress of this republic. Remember that the non-slaveholding states have a majority of forty members in the house of representatives. Remember that petitions from all the children in the northern states would influence congress to abolish the domestic slave-trade.

Our northern members of congress know that soon they must ask those who are now children whether they shall be members of congress or not. They would not dare to reject their united petitions.

Remember, also, what Thomas J. Randolph, of Virginia, said of the domestic slave-trade. And he certainly knew what he was describing. He said:

'Is it better, is it not worse than the [foreign] slave-trade, that trade which enlisted the labor of the good and the wise of every creed and every clime to abolish it? The [foreign] trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect, and manner, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband, and child, have all been rent in twain; before he receives him his soul has become callous.

But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he TEARS from the MOTHER'S ARMS, *and sells into a strange country, among strange people*, SUBJECT TO CRUEL TASK-MASTERS. In my opinion, sir, IT IS MUCH WORSE.'

Children! you can abolish this horrible trade. Will you do it?

Who support the Slave Trade.

A traveller has lately published in the London papers that there were, a few months ago, SEVENTY slavers on the coast of Africa, at one time. The vessels were nearly all ☞AMERICAN BUILT, *and made on purpose for the slave trade.*—They are such swift sailers that it is almost impossible to catch them. They carry the Spanish flag. The same writer mentions several cases in which sick slaves were thrown into the ocean when the traders thought they could not be sold for money enough to pay for the provisions they would eat.

The slave trade is a great system of murder, and it is carried on by American money, American skill, and by American SEAMEN; and it will be so, until its guilt and its horrors are more deeply felt, while the domestic slave trade is sanctioned at home?

Youth's Cabinet.

The Map.

BY MISS CHANDLER.

Ay, it is the map of Africa; there is the seat of ancient Carthage—there is Egypt—there is the spot from whence arose the bright day-star of science—the birth-place of intellectual glory, where the human mind first arose in its strength, and arrayed itself with knowledge, as the garment of a conqueror. They may talk of Rome, the "Niobe of Nations," sitting in voiceless woe amidst the melancholy ruins of her former grandeur; but what is her fate to that of Africa? hapless, unpitied Africa! "weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not"—because they have been torn from her with ruthless violence, that they might be immolated on the altars of the unrighteous mammon!

When the hearth-stones of Ramah were drenched in blood, and soft, laughing eyes looked up in innocent confidence through the golden curls that clustered over their brows, at the stern hands that were lifted for slaughter—then Africa received in her arms and sheltered in her bosom, the Christian's infant Saviour from the destroying wrath of Herod—and the Christian hath requited her by making her children a prey to unholy avarice and cruelty—by plunging her amidst calamity and bloodshed, and carrying desolation throughout her borders!

The Thugs; or Secret Murderers of India.

The last Edinburgh Review remarks "that it appears from the most overwhelming evidence, that there exists in India, a vast fraternity of murderers, consisting of many thousand persons;—that this fraternity has existed for many ages, and through many political revolutions;—that it has spread its ramifications over the whole of that vast country from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas;—that it has flourished alike under Hindoo, Mahomedan, and British rulers;—that it has every year destroyed multitudes of victims; and yet that its constitution—we may say its very being—have been quite unknown to the most active and vigilant English functionaries, and very imperfectly understood even by the native government. It was indeed notorious that gangs of thieves sometimes strangled travellers. It was notorious that the members of these gangs were unusually expert at the operation of strangling: and that these gangs were merely small detached portions of a vast organized community, the members of which recognized each other as brethren in the remote parts of India; that these murders were all committed according to certain ancient and solemn forms, and were regarded by those who committed them, *not as crimes, but as solemn rites which it would have been sinful to omit*—all this was reserved for the present generations to discover."

John Randolph's Will settled at last.—The Special Court of Appeals of the state of Virginia, has affirmed the judgment of the "General Court" in the case of Mr. Randolph's Will. This decision established the will of 1821 with its various codicils up to 1831, by which the slaves of Mr. Randolph are emancipated.

Damaged Grain. Our dealers in grain and bakers, must keep a sharp look out or they will find themselves unconsciously retailing poison and death. The N. Y. Times says—

"Immense quantities of damaged wheat are daily sold—carried to the east and made into flour. Unslacked lime is ground up with it to disguise the smell. Fictitious red brands are put on it, and it turns out the most profitable flour. On this the poor live. What effect will it have on the bowels of children? Go to Wall street and examine the wheat at auction—or to the Exchange at three o'clock—four out of five samples smell—and by tasting them you discover incipient decay. If stinking meat is sold, would not the butcher be punished. Yet stinking wheat is sold every day."

An old settler.—The Newport, R. I. Mercury of the 17th inst. commences the *eighteenth volume* of that paper. It was first published in that town, June 12th, 1758, by James Franklin, the elder brother of Dr. Benj. Franklin. Few newspapers can, or ever will be able to boast of so long a life.

To be Let.

THE House on State Street, in Concord, recently occupied by Capt. Moses G. Atwood. Terms favorable, and possession given immediately.

Apply to GEORGE KENT.
May 10, 1837.

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FLAGGONS, CUPS, PLATES, AND CHRISTENING BASINS,

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No. 1.

Low's Brick Block Concord, N. H.

June 18, 1836.

Johnson's Vegetable

HAIR OIL.

A BEAUTIFUL head of hair has always been considered one of the greatest ornaments ever bestowed by nature upon the human frame, and indispensably necessary to the perfection of personal beauty. It is a common complaint among young persons that their hair is falling off or becoming dry and unhealthy, this may be owing to the application of improper and injurious oils, or to the entire neglect of the hair. Without proper attention, diseases of the hair will arise, which are often found to occasion thinness, falling off, and sometimes total baldness. For these evils, and the inconveniences necessarily attending them, Johnson's Vegetable Hair Oil will be found an almost infallible remedy. This Oil was tried in many cases of baldness, thinness and falling off of the hair, before it was offered to the public, and in nearly every instance its beneficial effects have been realized to admiration. It has in many cases been known to produce a new and beautiful growth of hair on heads which were bald; and it will always check that falling off which so frequently occurs. In cases where it becomes dry and ceases to grow, this Oil will very soon render it healthy and produce a rapid and beautiful growth without the least injury to the head; nor does any falling off follow after using it. That loss of hair which so frequently takes place after sickness may be easily prevented by using this Oil. In short no Oil has ever been offered to the public that gives such universal satisfaction, and stands the test of experience like *Johnson's Vegetable Hair Oil.*

For sale by EDWARD BRACKETT.
Concord, April 1, 1837.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

JAY'S INQUIRY into the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies, price 37 1-2
SONGS OF THE FREE, 50
EVILS OF SLAVERY AND THE CURE OF SLAVERY, 5
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ANTI-SLAVERY CATECHISM, 10
STROUD'S DIGEST, 62
ANTI-SLAVERY CARDS, 25
"RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON" being the Annual Report of the Boston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, containing a concise statement of events previous and subsequent to the Annual Meeting, 1835. 30
"THE SLAVE MARKET OF AMERICA," a print, containing a view of the Capitol at Washington, the slave prisons at the same place and at Alexandria, &c.
SOUTHERN IDEAS OF LIBERTY.—An engraving.
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ANTI-SLAVERY LETTER PAPER, with an engraving. Price 4 cts. per sheet.
A FULL STATEMENT of the Reasons, which were in part offered to the Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, on the 4th and 8th of March, showing why there should be no Penal Laws enacted; and no condemnatory resolutions passed by the Legislature, respecting Abolitionists and Anti-Slavery Societies. Price, 12 1-2 cents.
PROCEEDINGS of the N. E. Convention, held May 1834.
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NARRATIVE of AMOS DRESSER, with Stone's Letters from Natchez, 8
POEMS by J. G. WHITTIER.

☞The above are for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, Low's Building, (third story) opposite the Post Office.

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Is published every Saturday at Concord, N. H

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☞All Letters and Communications, POSTAGE PAID, to be directed to JOSEPH HORACE KIMBALL, Editor, Concord, N. H.